DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 305 477 CE 052 201

AUTHOR Parjanen, Matti
TITLE Adult Studies for Status and Exclusiveness. ZIFF Papiere 74.
INSTITUTION FernUniversitat, Hagen (West Germany). Zentrales Inst. fur Fernstudienforschung Arbeitsbereich.
PUB DATE Jan 89
NOTE 31p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS College Students; Educational Attitudes; Education Work Relationship; *Employment Qualifications; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; Open Universities; *Prestige; Social Class; *Social Status; Social Theories; *Status Need; *Student Attitudes; *Student Motivation
IDENTIFIERS Exclusiveness Theory of Education; *Finland

ABSTRACT

A Finnish study sought to verify the "exclusiveness theory" of education developed by Randall Collins. The exclusiveness theory proposes that educational requirements and the educational levels required for employment continually increase, not in response to the actual requirements of jobs, but so that the professions can maintain exclusivity and social status by excluding those with lower levels of education. Education is seen as a means of continuing or bettering social class rank rather than as job preparation. In the study, a sample of 392 students from a population of 1,604 at a open university were administered a questionnaire, with a response rate of 74 percent. The questionnaire asked about students' reasons for obtaining higher education and about their perceptions of their social class. The study did not support the hypothesis that elevation of social status was a significant factor in students' reasons for studying at the university. (KC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED305477

FernUniversität
Gesamthochschule

ZIFF PAPIERE 74

Matti Parjanen

Adult Studies for Status and Exclusiveness

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

B Holmberg

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

CE 052 201

Zentrales Institut für Fernstudienforschung

Hagen, Januar 1989

ZIFF-Papiere

© 1989 FernUniversität - Gesamthochschule

Herausgegeben von Helmut Fritsch

Redaktion: Frank Doerfert, Helmut Fritsch, Helmut Lehner (Konstanz)

Zu beziehen über: FernUniversität, ZIFF,
Postfach 940, D 5800 Hagen

INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

Seite

Abstract 1

Theoretical Introduction 2

Exclusiveness Theory 6

Empirical Findings 10

Discussion 20

Bibliography 23

Foreword of the Editor

Sometimes we have an idea for educational research that would make us understand better how the situation really is. We try to formulate hypotheses, we try to verify by falsifying the opposite, don't we?

Parjanens paper shows the work in progress - certainly it is almost common place to speak of status and exclusiveness (think of the Ivy League in the U.S. or Oxbridge!), as characteristics of University education. But: how to prove this empirically: Parjanen did not provide empirical evidence to our common feeling - I personally think that social desirability barriers (not, by no means, to get into open conflict with democratic norms) hindered the verification. Hopefully the classification work that is needed when in-depth-interviews are to be analysed will give hints to the adequate formulation of a falsifiable hypothesis. We are looking forward to it.

Helmut Fritsch

Abstract

This paper considers how the theory of conflict and status groups developed by the American Randall Collins can be applied to the non-university sector of higher education. The concept 'non-university sector of higher education' is used here to mean "extension studies", which in Finland means - in practice - continuing education and open university studies carried out in conjunction with universities. According to the theory put forth here, the object of training is in reality to control the job market by developing an exclusive language, by means of which the initiates are clearly distanced from outsiders. Training thus maintains competition between status groups and is hence a force exercising a marked societal power.

The goal here is empirically to examine if there are other motives than professional advancement and personality development involved in the reasons why adults participate in continuing education, for example, to what extent exclusiveness and status group factors might serve as motivators.

Since Finland has developed its own organizational model for adult extension training, it is - from both the theoretical and practical angle - interesting to analyse how different management and decision-making models are applicable to this kind of operation. Extension classes are an example of an 'open university' institution. In seeking a place in the area of higher education, the question of legitimation becomes an important endeavour because the establishment of its legitimacy is important to the continuation of this new form of education.

Theoretical Introduction

The theory of exclusiveness and status groups created by Randall Collins (1971, 1979) belongs to the qualification theories explaining the relation between training and working life and based on the teachings of the sociological classic Max Weber. According to the theory, training socialises individuals into certain status elites. Status groups exploit training in controlling the job market, often by endeavouring to limit student intake. In this way diplomas and certificates become an indication of status group membership rather than evidence of knowledge and ability. Exclusiveness has often been seen as a characteristic of high prestige university studies, for example in medicine and law. This paper considers the possibility that many adult students do not study with the object of increasing their professional competence or for self development - contrary to what they frequently express in questionnaires - but their objective is to distance themselves from a reference group.

Status groups are distinguished from other groups by such matters as speech and behavioural styles and value-orientation relations. One may accordingly ask what significance there is for education in the formation of these characteristics. The well-known analyst of this sociocultural area is the Frenchman Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1979, 1986), who has brought the concepts of social and cultural capital to the elucidation of the relations between education and working life.

Without going into detail in discussing various theories, let it simply be stated that in studies in the field of the sociology of education the factor most closely related to participation in adult education has been the participants' social status. A person's social status consists of his/her educational background, occupational position, income, and peer-group standing. Participation in adult education is greater the higher the person's social status is. Of the individual factors involved, prior education appears to be

the most important: the more prior education a person has, the more he/she is likely to participate in adult education. Already in the 50's studies had come to these conclusions (eg. Reissman 1954, Scott 1957, Wright & Hyman 1958, Brunner et al 1959).

In studies carried out in the 60's and 70's into motives for participation in adult education, three dimensions are easily discernible:

1. for the sake of learning itself, for gaining knowledge, and for improving one's general education.

2. for practical reasons, to improve one's professional position, education is the means to an end.

3. for the purpose of establishing social contacts, for companionship, for entertainment.

(Houle 1961, Johnstone & Rivera 1965, Husén et al 1968, Boshier 1971, Morstain & Smart 1974)

In more recent sociological and adult-education studies there has been consensus that the motives for participation are more complex than the division into the above three dimensions. On the one hand, a particular student may have many different reasons for studying and the placement of that student into merely one motivational catagory is not possible. Between purely learning-oriented and enjoyment-oriented goals for students there can often be a middle ground of motivation with characteristics in both directions.

The question could now be asked to which of these three previously described dimensions the motives of status and exclusiveness should be attributed. When the primary motive for studying is the desire to establish distance from and barriers to one's reference group, does this represent 'knowledge seeking', 'utilitarian needs' or 'entertainment' dimensions? It is apparent that studies motivated by <u>status-seeking do not fit into any of these categories</u>.

As the open university has not been part of the formal education system in Finland, it has had to struggle for its place. Although the need for this and other forms of adult education have been well established by the ever growing number of persons desiring to participate, it is still nessecary to gain formal acceptance or legitimation. In Finland, at the present time, the question whether the open university is to become a legitimate part of the higher-education establishment is being hotly debated.

Legitimation is understood to mean the acceptance of norms, or normative behaviour, or the pursuit of this acceptance. Often the discussion is concerned with the legitimation of demands. A basis needs to be established for these demands in order that they might appear justified. From the viewpoint of conflict theory C.W. Mills (1959) treats legitimation as meaning: those in power attempt to support and maintain their institutions and organisations (eg. political parties).

Process and development are important in the legitimization of power and authority. It is difficult to rise to legitimate power, but once it has been legitimized the exercise of power is relatively easy. Even those who are under coercive power will accept it, if it is legitimate. Weber's division of the modes of authority into traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic has become classic in sociology. This division we can easily accept in the field of educational sciences as well. Then we might observe how in schools and all training institutions there is a desire to establish legitimate traditional authority, because the power is then accepted as being continous and no one understands or dares to react against it.

During the birth of a new national state an integral part of the overall process is the building of an educational system. That a people might have in common a nationality, history and

a language does in itself little to meet the real needs of either those in power or of those being goverend. This common ground only serves to legitimize the demands for basic needs (eg: "the people's schools"; "universal suffrage"; "the eight hour work-day"; etc.). Methaphors and similes are involved in interesting ways in the birth of new educational institutions. These metaphors and similes are used in attempts to legitimize ideas and ideologies such as "Open University"; "University Without Walls"; "University for People"; "Summer University"; "Université de troisième age". From the nature of these names we can see the needs and goals which exist outside of the university proper. These metaphors could also be looked at as being no more than euphemisms, through the use of which the power-balance that exists in academic institutions, is shaken as little as possible, while at the same time seeking to share a little of the established institution's prestige. This prestige is to serve as a sort of symbol (of legitimation) for these new institutions. In the creation of other symbols it is possible to observe the involvement of a kind of mythology. To illustrate this take the case of the administrator who in trying to adapt new symbols (colours, sizes, adjectives, job titles) for the organisation has no idea which ones are appropriate and which are not (Parjanen 1985, 1985b, 1986). The purpose here is not to probe any deeper into the analysis of the function of legitimation in education (cf. Weiler 1982, 1983). A final note worth mentioning here is that there is currently a study being done at my institution in which the problems of the Open University are being determined, by analyzing the historical development of the legitimation process of higher education in Finland.

Exclusiveness Theory

The reasons often given for the existence of educational systems are based on a theory known as the 'technical-function theory' of education. This theory emphasizes the importance of technology in today's highly industrialized society. Formal schooling gives either the nessessary skills or a general competence for jobs which are increasingly more difficult. Education might even be considered a prerequisite for technological development.

Different professions require different skills. Open positions on the job market must be filled by persons with either natural talents for the position or with the appropriate education. The required qualifications can be attained through education, thereby increasing the demands for educational opportunities. According to the technical-function theory the occupational and professional structure of society creates demand for specific forms of education (Collins 1971, 1007).

Collins has disproven the technical-function theory. The skills needed in the occupational field are not learned in schools. This contention is also in part supported by findings indicating that people with higher levels of education are not more productive than people with less education. The greatest contribution of education to productivity occurs when the general population is literate. The extent of further contributions can be questioned when it becomes apparent that the skills learned in school are not those actually used in the work place but skills are learned on the job. This might sound like so much educational jargon and cliches, but it includes some rather remarkable theorization in the field of sociology of education. These findings, for which there exists empirical evidence, are minimized by scholars in the educational sciences, but are perhaps over-emphasised by practitioners in working life.

The true purpose for increasing the difficulty of an educational programme is to increase the status of an occupation and to create surrounding barriers (exclusiveness) rather than to improve the teaching of technical skills. Further evidence in favour of these contentions is to be found in the fact that schooling often turns out to be irrelevant: many people enter careers other than those for which they were educated. Increased educational requirements are not established because the work itself requires more skills or competence but rather because the employers simply demand it.

Sociology-of-education studies have shown that job advancement is more closely related to social background than to educational background. Even schooling seems to be important more as a symbol of belonging to a specific group than as an indication of technical knowledge or skills. When selecting employees, employers look for a certain kind of course work or specific degree while focusing on personality characteristics, and do not pay much attention to grades. The school system itself seems to be the true benefactor of grades, using them as a specialized form of control.

As an alternative to the technical-function theory of education, Collins offers a conflict theory of stratification, in which education acts as a kind of weapon in the struggle for power and prestige. This point of view is used as the basis for the exclusiveness theory which is described later in this paper. Collins' approach is 'Weberian' in that society is seen as being comprised of associational groups which share a common culture and a common sub-culture. A common 'cultural property' is a key resource for these associational groups which Weber coined "status groups". Collins calls these "consciousness communities". The nucleus of this group or "community" could for example be family and friends, but on a larger scale these groups might be religious, educational, or ethnic in nature. People find their way into these groups through their life style and status.

Generally speaking "consciousness group" members hold equal status which is based on their common culture: styles of language and clothing, manners, rituals, values, and opinions. The group gives its members a common basis for shaping their identity.

Membership is more or less exclusive and there is a tendency to try to establish a clear borderline between the group and the outside. Prestige and legitimation requirements are typically also involved.

Weber put forth three reasons for the birth of status groups:

1. Differing life styles based on economic factors;

2. Differences due to the various positions of power;

3. Differences due to cultural conditions or institutions (ethnic factors, religion, education)

Within society there is a continual struggle for wealth, power and prestige. Everyone wants to maximize his/her own rewards. Wealth power and prestige are inter-related; thus power and prestige improve one's possibilities for amassing wealth. If even a small group begins to acquire more than their fair share of these 'goods', those on the outside will begin a counter-struggle to avoid subjection and lack of esteem.

Organizations are typically made up of more than one status group and this is an area in which the struggle between status groups is carried out. The status group controlling the organization hires, fires and manipulates others. This controlling group will try to recruit members of the same status group, especially for the higher positions in the organization. When hiring members of other status groups for

the lower positions, care is taken to insure that these people respect the cultural superiority of the controlling group. The employer can use education as the basis for hiring people of specific status groups for different positions in the organization. The division into status groups is largely based on education, and employers use education as the criterium for selecting people with particular cultural attributes.

The most important function of a school is to socialize students into specific status cultures. This process goes on both inside and outside the classroom. The technical knowledge and skills which might be learned are not that important. What is learned in this socialization process is vocabulary, inflection, styles of dress, aesthetic taste, values, and manners.

Schools can be viewed as being part of a multidimensional struggle between status groups for economic advantage and prestige. According to Collins, when schools are viewed from an historical perspective, education can be seen as having been established primarily to serve the organizational needs of status group. People use and have always used education as a means of establishing cultural distance from other people and groups. Power and wealth are involved here along with status.

Increases in the supply of educated people has resulted in ever increasing job qualification requirements. Skill requirements of the jobs themselves have not increased, but employers have raised educational requirements in order to maintain the prestige of their own leadership position and to maintain relative respect for the middle ranks in their organization. The procedures for hiring and promoting employees have been legitimized by basing them on education. All the while educational requirements have grown increasingly more difficult. The use of education as hiring criterium has been at least as important in creating pressures for ever greater amounts of schooling as have changes in the nature of the work being done.

The interaction between formal qualifications and informal status cultures has resulted in a spiral, in which educational attainments become ever higher. The importance of education has continually increased, and it has become an agency for meritocratic selection. The competition for mass-education opportunities has reached the universities. According to Collins (1971, 1016), continued increases in the educational requirements of jobs and occupations can be expected.

Empirical Findings

At the University of Tampere's Institute for Extension Studies there is an empirical study in progress in the sociology of education attempting to verify the exclusiveness theory. A questionnaire was used in 1987 to gather data from students studying in the institute's Open University division. A systematic sample of 392 was taken from a student population of 1604. The percentage of returned questionnaires was 74. A complete analysis of the study results is in progress, but some isolated data were available at the time of writing this paper. These data were obtained quantitatively, and are therefore somewhat problematic, methodologically speaking. For this reason an attempt is being made to gather data (especially data related to exclusiveness theory) from the same sample by qualitative means using thematic interviews.

Of Tampere Open University's 1604 students, 77 % are female, and 23 % male. Their break down into age groups:

- 20 - 29 years of age 29 %
- 30 - 39 39 %
- and over 40 32 %.

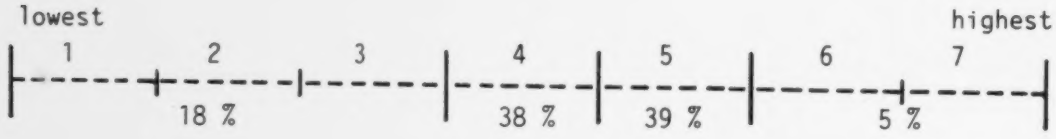
Their public schooling level is fairly high: 68 % high school graduates, 5 % having started but not completed high school, 8 % having completed junior high, and 9 % were those having

completed only primary school. The extent to which they had further formal education can be catagorized as follows: 6 % had none, over 50 % had the equivalent of a college degree and almost half of these (23 % of the entire group) had a B.A. or M.A. degree.

Seventy-eight percent of the study sample had employment at the time of the study. Forty-one percent of the study group had less than 10 years of work experience; 35 % had 10 - 18 years; and 24 % had more than 18 years of work behind them.

Of the sample 12 % claimed to belong to the bourgeoisie, 56 % to the middle class, 17 % to the working class, and 14 % claimed not to be aware of their class consciousness.

The item on the questionnaire asking the student to assess his/her own social class simply included a numeric scale from 1 to 7 (lowest to highest). Breakdown of the results gives us an idea of how these open-university students ranked themselves into social classes. The breakdown can be diagrammed as follows:



The results held some interesting relationships between class consciousness and social class: for example 50 % of those who indicated belonging (class consciousness) to the working class placed themselves in catagory 4, or in the middle with respect to social class. These kinds of results are very important for the following reason: the sociology of education has always based its theories and empirical analysis on the assumption that people's socioeconomic background and class consciousness have great significance in determining their attitudes towards and participation in

education. Changes in the class consciousness of middle class people, and of people in white collar jobs, are also important to the sociology of education (cf. Blom 1985).

When assumptions are made concerning the opinions and actions of open-university students, it must be remembered that they are a select group, resulting from some currently unknown selecting process. This educational, sociological, and psychological process has been the object of little scientific study. The student sample in this study is select, but how? Without getting any deeper into causal questions a few observations can be made. This study group included 19 % who were satisfied with their present job, and only 12 % who were not. This would indicate a positive relationship between attitudes towards education and work (at least when those attitudes are positive). Cumulation theory has countless findings concerning attitudes toward education indicating that: the more education a person has had the more likely he/she is to participate in more schooling. An often stated reason for voluntarily continuing one's education is that it is a way to compensate for a dull undesirable job. The data here would seem to indicate just the opposite. The study questionnaire had a series of items dealing with the students' current jobs. The responses which the students marked on a point scale produced the following findings concerning their work: includes variety (74 %); interesting (67 %); opportunities for learning new things (64 %); possibilities for developing one's skills (61 %). Negative responses to the same items occurred with a frequency of only between 10 - 15 %. And it was these very things which were almost unanimously considered important.

On items concerned with factors which have prevented or created difficulties for participation in open-university studies the most common problem was 'lack of time'. Even then the average student response to that particular item on a scale from 1 to 4, was only 2.5. The next most common factor was 'work-related problems' ($x = 0.5$), difficulty level of the teaching ($x = 0.7$).

The study group was questioned as to what factors had led to their choice to study in an open university. The questionnaire included 14 possible reasons. Each of these items had a response scale from 1 to 5 (from 'this factor was highly significant'-- to -- 'this factor was not significant'). The results showed three reasons to be the most important:

1. Interest in the study subject
   (65 % indicated this to be one of their 3 major reasons).

2. Desire to advance in one's occupation or profession
   (52 %).

3. Improvement of one's general education (49 %).

On the other hand, table 1 shows that status-elevating factors, in the view of the response group, were not important in their decision to study at an open university. The three status-related items - 'studies in an open university are more prestigeous', 'increase in prestige at work', and 'increase in prestige in peer group'- were chosen as being one of the student's three major reasons in only 1 - 2 % of the cases. No one picked any of these three factors as being the most important.

Table 1 Status-factors involved one's studies

	high involved 1 - 2	3	4	low involved 5	Total (364)
1. Studies in an open university are more prestigeous than studies in other adult education institutions	10 %	20 %	25 %	44 %	100 %
2. Increase in prestige at the working place	10	24	26	39	100 %
3. Increase in prestige in one's peer group	3	16	25	55	100 %
Total	8 %	20 %	26 %	46 %	100 %

This is the first answer to the question "Do open university students study for status-elevating reasons?" The percentages seem clearly to negate the hypothesis.

The second time there is an answer to the question is upon viewing table 2. Taken from a battery of 15 items the five selected here are thought best to measure exclusiveness and status factors. Two of the items in the table (numbers 2 and 3) are seen as being especially good indicators of these factors. This table points toward the same conclusion as the first table, that as measured by this type of questionnaire, two thirds of the sample do not see exclusiveness as being the motive for adult studies. On the other three items of table 2, the response distribution is greater (the original 5 response scale is here reduced to 3).

Table 2 Educational status items

	agree	don't know	disagree	Total (392)
1. Free-time studies for self-respect improvement	40 %	24 %	36 %	100 %
2. University training is a means for establishing distance from average people	17	14	69	100 %
3. Free-time studies are a means for establishing distance from other people	19	18	64	100 %
4. Studies are useful for improving social status	42	24	34	100 %
5. Studies are a way of improving one's prestige	40	19	41	100 %

Noteworthy is the large number of students who have chosen the "don't know" response. Generally speaking, open-university students' understanding of the position and goals of university graduates is unclear. This may be the reason why the "don't know" category is almost one fourth. For example the following item - "People with a university degree strive for their rightful position in society" - resulted in this response break down: 36 % agreed, 37 % disagreed, and 27 % didn't know. The same kind of response spread resulted from the following statement: "More weight should be given to the opinions of educated people".

In general, the exclusiveness factor appeared to be missing, or at least well hidden, when measured using these methods. The questionnaire also among others included following three items:

	agree
"Most people would have the intellectual capacity to study in an open university"	74 %
"When one takes the effort to gain knowledge, it is natural that the reward would be a better position"	74 %
"General academic competence should be made easily attainable to everyone"	69 %

The responses show a positive attitude toward an individual's possibilities in education. This kind of attitude is apparant throughout the student body of the open university.

Crossing some background variables it is apparent that there is no difference between women and men with respect to responses to the three status-related items of table one. However, there were significant differences between men and women on other items as follows:

Clearly more men than women have indicated as reasons for studying:

- to learn a totally new occupation.

Clearly more women than men:

- to gain new friends and contacts.
- as a change for free time activities.

Table 3 Status-factors involved one's studies and social class (means)

Social class	Status-factor[1]
low	4.1
middle	4.0
high	4.1
Total	(392)

Table 3 shows that there is no correlation between "status factors involved in one's studies" and "social class".

Table 4 Status-factors involved one's studies and class consciousness (means)

Class consciousness	Status-factor[1]
bourgeoisie	3.8
middle class	4.0
workers	4.2
don't know	4.5
Total	(392)

On the other hand, table 4 (class consciousness) would seem to indicate that the bourgeoisie are a little more interested in status factors as motives for their studies. This tendency is less noticeable in the working class, and least in the group who don't know what class they belong to.

Items 2 and 3 from table 2 were combined into a cumulative result which was given the term "Exclusiveness factor", and from this analysis, the group responding "don't know" was omitted. Those who agreed with both of these items received a high exclusiveness ranking.

1) Status-factor appears (1) - doesn't appear (5)

Table 5 Exclusiveness factor and sex

	Sex		
Exclusiveness	female	male	Total
high	16 %	21 %	17 %
low	68 %	62	67
total (100 %)	(252)	(90)	(342)

Table 5 indicates that significantly more men than women study for exclusiveness. Table 6 shows that the bourgeoisie (class consciousness) react more positively to the idea of exclusiveness than do the others.

Table 6 Exclusiveness factor and class consciousness

	Class consciousness			
Exclusiveness	bourgeoisie	middle class	workers	Total
high	20 %	17 %	18 %	17 %
low	65	67	70	67
total (100 %)	(44)	(202)	(64)	(310)

The reaction of students who identified with the working class was the most negative. Crossing tables again we can see in table 7 the results with respect to age and exclusiveness. There is a clear correlation between age and exclusiveness: the younger the open university student, the more likely he/she is to admit exclusiveness as a motive for studying.

Table 7 Exclusiveness factor and age

	Age			
Exclusiveness	20-29	30-39	40-	Total
high	23 %	17 %	14 %	17 %
low	58	66	73	67
total (100 %)	(85)	(153)	(124)	(362)

Discussion

In this paper the attempt has been made to use three scholarly concepts in the analysis of the open university: legitimation, status, and exclusiveness. In looking at the history of the legitimation process of university education or of adult education, it is possible better to understand why today some forms of education or some educational institutions are open while others are closed, why some have high status and others do not (cf. Harris & Holmes 1978; Archer 1982, 1984; Trow 1986). Kerr (1982) has observed that "... everything else changes, but the university mostly endures. ... About 85 institutions in the Western world established by 1520 still exist in recognizable forms, with similar functions and with unbroken histories ...".

Finnish schools are nearly 100 % government owned and controlled. This does not mean that the private sector would be unable continually to increase the legitimacy of its own schooling, so that it would be competitive with that offered in the official school system. This kind of development is apparent in Finland at this very moment, as private industry strives to legitimize own post-graduate training in such a way that the universities give official status to this training. The competitors here are on the one side the stiff, cumbersome, traditional university institution and on the other side the flexible, dynamic private sector. This is a new situation for scientific post-graduate education, but is a familiar situation in the area of extension studies. At the present time, changes are taking place related to extension studies. Finland's Ministry of Education in conjunction with the universities, is putting the brakes to the legitimation development of the community-supported summer universities' extension studies program. The attempt is to shift these extension studies completely into the control of formal university departments (the Institutes for Extension Studies).

As an intermediary between the university and practical working life, an organization responsible for extension studies must use the traditional university's organizational structure with its emphasis on scholarly values. However, at the same time it must avoid the bad aspects of this kind of administration and management and strive to adopt new theories and applications. These concern organizational culture, organizational learning, organizational socialization, organizational myths, and organizational contingency emphasizing environmental significance (Argyris & Schon 1978; Van Maanen & Schein 1979; Westerlund & Sjostrand 1979; Goodnow 1982; Smircich 1983).

In traditional faculty circles, all the different kinds of university-extension movements encounter suspicion and even aggressive resistance. There would, however, be good grounds for clarifying what results from the non-university sector of higher education, in the fields of culture, pedagogics, and individual psychology might be offered to the benefit of the traditional university. As can already be seen, it would be expedient if the advantages resulting from more speedy decision making, management effectiveness and individual and organizational accountability could be introduced into the rigid university organization.

The elevation of ones social status, along with the creation of exclusiveness and distance from one's environment have, in this paper, been assumed to be significant factors in a student's decision to study at an open university. A fundamental factor in this assumption is the fact that in Finland open-university classes are conducted using university facilities and teachers are often university professors. This gives tremendous prestige to the open university in the eyes of the 'common people'. This empirical study using a questionnaire was unable to verify the exclusiveness theory. Quantitatively measured, this type of motive was not found to be a significant factor in the decision of very many students to enroll in extension classes.

The possibility must be considered that admitting to these kinds of motives (or acting according to such motives) is against social norms. Another possibility is that the true inner motives are not consciously identified and have never really been considered by the student. Some interview responses given to questions in a pilot study give us reason to wonder if a different data-gathering technique might not give some deeper understanding of student motives. For example, in the pilot study interviews, open-university students often used status-symbols in their discusssions. These status symbols point directly to the significance of their studies at the open university in elevating their status in their peer group and at work. In this case it seems necessary to establish just how the different factors from Weber's and Collin's conflict theories are involved here. These factors are: sub-cultures, life styles, and the prestige and legitimation requirements in the student's social environment. At the same time it would be neccessary, using qualitative means, to find out if open university students value elite culture. And, in the same way, the competition between employees for prestige and promotions would need to be studied.

Therefore the next phase of this study will be to gather more data using deeper-probing thematic interviews. In this way we hope to overcome the inhibitions due to social norms, and to search the students verbal responses for expressions, which would mirror their sub-conscious motives, and provide answers for the questions posed in this paper on the conflict theory of education stratification.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archer, M.S. (1982) — The Sociology of Educational Expansion. Take-off, Growth and Inflation in Educational Systems. London.

Archer, M.S. (1984) — Social Origins of Educational Systems. Bristol, UK.

Argyris, C. & Schon, D. (1978) — Organizational Learning: A Theory of Action Perspective. Reading, Mass.

Becher, T. & Kogan, M. (1980) — Process and Structure in Higher Education. Fakenham, Norfolk.

Blom, R. (1985) — The Relevance of Class Theory. Acta Sociologica. Vol. 28, 3, 171-192.

Boshier, R. (1971) — Motivational Orientations of Adult Education Participants: A Factor Analytic Exploration of Houle's Typology. Adult Education Journal. Vol. 21, 2, 3-26.

Bourdieu, P. (1977) — Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. In: Karabel J. & Halsey A. (eds.) Power and Ideology in Education. New York.

Bourdieu, P. (1979) — La distinction, Paris.

Bourdieu, P. (1984) — Homo academicus. Paris.

Bourdieu, P. (1986) — The Forms of Capital. In: Richardson J.C. (ed.) Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. Westport, CT.

Brunner, E. et al (1959) — An Overview of Adult Education Research. Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. Chicago.

Collins, R. (1971) — Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification. American Sociological Review, 36, 1002-1019.

Collins, R. (1979) — The Credential Society. London.

Dobson, R.B. (1977) — Social Status and Inequality of Access to Higher Education in the USSR. In: Karabel J. & Halsey A.H. (eds.) Power and Ideology in Education. New York.

Goodnow, W.E. (1982) — The Contingency Theory of Education. International Journal of Lifelong Education. Vol. 1,4, 341-352.

Harris, D. & Holmes, J. (1978) — Open-ness and control in higher education: towards a critique of the Open University. In: Dale R. & Esland G. & MacDonald (eds.) Schooling and Capitalism. A Sociological Reader. London.

Houle, C. (1961) — The Inquiring Mind. A Study of the Adult who Continues to Learn. Madison.

Husén et al (1968) — Vuxna lär. Förutsättningar och metoder i vuxenundervisningen. Stockholm.

Husén, T. (1977) — Jämlikhet genom utbildning (equality through education). Stockholm.

Johnstone, J.W.C. & Rivera, R.J. (1965) — Volunteers for Learning. A Study of the Educational Pursuits of American Adults. Chicago.

Kerr, C. (1982) — The Uses of the University. Cambridge, N.Y.

Knowles, M.S. (1979) — Andragogy revisited part II. Adult Education, 30, 52-53.

Knudson, R.S. (1979) — Humanogogy anyone? Adult Education, 19, 261-264.

Kotler, P. (1975) — Marketing for Nonprofit Organizations. New Jersey.

Van Maanen, J. & Schein, E. (1979) — Toward a Theory of Organizational Socialization. In: Research in Organizational Behavior. Vol. 1 Greenwich.

Mills, C.W. (1959) — The Sociological Imagination. Oxford.

Morstain, B.R. & Smart, J.C. (1974) — Reasons for Participation in Adult Education Courses: A Multivariate Analysis of Group Differences. Adult Education. Vol. 24, 2, 83-98.

Parjanen, M. (1985) Myytit ja täydennyskoulutus (Myths and Continuing Education). University of Tampere, Dept. of Education. Research report A. 36.

Parjanen, M. (1985,b) Extension Studies under Pressure from Worklife, Training and Myths, In: Mäkinen, R. & Panhelainen, M. & Parjanen, M. (eds.) Recent Finnish Research on Higher Education, Reports from the Institute for Educational Research 364, 191-212.

Parjanen, M. (1986) Professional Continuing Education - Higher Education for Sale? Paper presented in the Congress of Visions of Higher Education - Trans-National Dialogues: Transformations. Zürich, August.

Reissman, L. (1954) Class, Leisure and Social Participation. American Sociological Review. Vol. 19, 1, 76-84.

Scott, J.C. (1957) Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations. American Sociological Review. Vol. 22, 3, 315-326.

Smircich, L. (1983) Concepts of Culture and Organizational Analysis. Admin. Sci. Quarterly 3.

Trow, M. (1986) The University at the End of the Twentieth Century and Trends toward Continued Development. Paper presented at the Symposium "Tradition and Reform of the University from an International Perspective" Heidelberg, W-Germany, May 23-29.

Weber, M. (1968) Economy and Society. New York.

Weiler, H.N. (1982) Education, Public Confidence, and the Legitimacy of the Modern State: Do We Have a Crisis? Phi Delta Kappan. Vol. 64, 1, 9-14.

Weiler, H.N. (1983) Legalization, Expertise, and Participation: Strategies of Compensatory Legitimation in Educational Policy. Comparative Educational Review. Vol. 27, 2, 259-277.

Westerlund, G. & Sjöstrand, S.-E. (1979) Organizational Myths. New York.

Wright, C.R. & Hyman, H.H. (1958) Voluntary Association Membership of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys. American Sociological Review. Vol. 23, 3, 284-294.